From Byzantium to Iran
Armenian Studies in Honour of Nina G. Garsoïan

edited by
Jean-Pierre Mahé
Robert W. Thomson

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27 Kings and Power Bases
Sources for Royal Portraits in Armenian Cilicia

Royal portraits are indicative of how those who rule perceive themselves in relationship to their own people and those powers which surround them. The format selected for the royal images, the pose and dress are all significant indicators of the internal and external forces which the royal figures recognize as validating their power. The royal portraits of Armenian Cilicia have been identified as works inspired by royal donor portraits of Greater Armenia and Byzantium suggesting that the nobility of Cilicia justified their power through their relationships to the rulers of Greater Armenia and their long existing ties to Byzantium. A comparative study of the works of Cilicia and Greater Armenia, however, shows few parallels between the royal portraits of the two regions even in the details inspired by Byzantine art.

Two themes dominate the royal portraits of Greater Armenia into the Cilician era. Both have their origins in the earliest donor portraits of the region. Both have long been considered indicative of the role of greater Armenia as a border state between Byzantium to the West and the Sasanian empire to the East. One of the donor images is thought to have been inspired by Sasanian art—the donor mounted on horseback participating in a royal hunt.[1] The earliest example of this type of royal

[1] Harper, 1978, 33–35, 38–39, 40–41, 58–59, for Sasanian hunt scenes of the type related to Armenian works.

donor portrait in Greater Armenia is generally identified as that of "Manuēł, Lord of the Amatuni" who appears on horseback shooting a lion on the left end of the carved eyebrow on the facade of the sixth, or seventh, century church at Ptłni.[2]

Over five hundred years later a similar donor is shown on horseback killing a lion on the base of a xačʿkʿar of 1279 A.D. created in Cucingöl when it was in Mamikonean territory.[3] In 1321 the donor of the Church of the White Virgin (Spitakawor), Amir-Hasan II, still chose to be depicted on horseback shooting now at a doe.[4] As Der Nersessian noted, the significant change in the theme is that his costume with its long tunic clasped at the waist by a jeweled belt and three-pointed cap with two ribbons is now inspired by the dress of contemporary Mongol rulers in Greater Armenia.[5] Thus the donor type rooted in Sasanian art remains relatively constant over the centuries in Greater Armenia. The most constant variant is the change in the donor's dress, a change always influenced by the attire of the eastern courts which increasingly threatened or controlled Armenia.[6]

The other dominant royal portrait type of greater Armenia was introduced from Byzantine religious architecture by the seventh century also to remain popular into the Cilician era. In this portrait type the donor offers a model of his gift to the deity, usually an image of Christ or the Virgin and Child. Surviving Byzantine examples are found in the sixth century mosaics at Poreč and Ravenna and the later images of Constantine and Justinian in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Fig. 1.)[7] By

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[2] Der Nersessian, 1977, 35 and fig. 12. She dated the church to the sixth century identifying the portrait of Manuel as inspired by Sasanian art and that of the donor on the other end of the eyebrow who hunts on foot with a lance as an Armenian continuation of Greco-Roman hunt scenes. Thierry, 79 and 566, where the church is dated to the seventh century and Manuel identified as a fourth century ancestor of the Amatuni house.

[3] Thierry, 206 and fig. 107, where the work is considered one of a group of four xačʿkʿars of the "Holy Savior" type attributed to the sculptor Vahram between 1273 and 1285.

[4] Der Nersessian, 1977, fig. 147 and p. 190. Thierry, 578.

[5] Der Nersessian, 1977, 190. Thierry, 578, where it is also suggested that Amir-Hasan's broad face is similar to that on 12th and 13th century Iranian and Seljuk works.

[6] Dédéyan, 1982, 185–339.

[7] A. Grabar, 1966, figs. 147, 171 and 172, where at San Vitale in Ravenna Bishop Ecclesius is shown presenting his church to Christ in the apse while the Emperor Justinian and his wife Theodora present their offerings in nearby panels. Brenk, 306

the seventh century, Armenian donors begin to appear on churches in similar standing poses with models of their donations. At Aṭ'eni on the apse, a protective angel hovers over the donor who carefully grasps the church in both hands as he approaches an image of Christ.[8] While his pose is inspired by Byzantine models, his dress is not. The Thierrys have identified his costume as Transcaucasian dress. (Fig. 2)[9]

Over the subsequent centuries the image of the donor with a model of his donation remains the standard Byzantine inspired royal donor portrait type in Greater Armenia. Yet as with the mounted donor portraits, the figures rarely wear Byzantine dress. In the early tenth century on the facade of the palace church at Ałt'amar where Gagik Arcruni, "King of the Armenians," holds a model of his church, he is attired in an elaborate crown and robe which Der Nersessian has identified as those given Gagik at his coronation by Yousuf, the Emir of Azerbaijan.[10] Royal donor portraits of this type in other Armenian principalities in Greater Armenia in the tenth century generally follow the same pattern. At Ani, a now lost statue of the Bagratid King Gagik showed him with a large turban and a model of his church.[11] Within the orbit of the influence of the Bagratids, in the small kingdom of Tašir, Princes Smbat and Gurgēn, later King Smbat of Armenia and King Gurgēn of Tašir, are depicted on the facades of early churches at both the monasteries of Sanahin and Hałbat jointly holding a model of the churches built by their mother in their names.[12] At Hałbat in the late

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and fig. 375, where Bishop Euphrasius holds the model of his church. Mango, fig. 5, where in the southwest vestibule of Hagia Sophia Constantine and Justinian offer models of the city and the church to the Virgin and Child.

[8] Thierry, 78–9, 499, 556–57 and figs. 203–205, 232, 641. Thierry notes that there is also a Sasanian inspired donor hunt scene on the facade of Aṭ'eni and at Mren another Early Byzantine donor format where the donors are presented by apostles to Christ. The popularity of the format used at Mren appears to have been limited to this early era of Greater Armenian donor portraits. M. and N. Thierry, 1971, 43–77.

[9] M. and N. Thierry, 1977, 63.

[10] Der Nersessian, 1977, 90; 1965, 30–33. She considered the portrait of Gagik to be the first donor image with a model of a church in Armenian art. Her extensive dicussion of the dress on several of the figures on the church facade also identified as Islamic costume coats fastened (often on the diagonal) by metal belts with three pendants, tunics slit to the knees in front (and often turned back) and trousers.

[11] Ani: 16 and fig. 52. Thierry, 483, and fig. 595. Gagik ruled from 990–1020. It is noted that hostages returning home from Arab courts would have brought back aristocratic Islamic dress and manners.

[12] Thierry, 168, 169, 534–535, and 568–569, figs. 51–51. The princes are the sons of the Bagratid King Ašot III and his wife, Queen Xosrovanuyš. Volbach, 346 and fig. 384,

tenth century, Prince Smbat's dress includes a huge turban very similar to that worn by Gagik of Ani.[13]

The other donor portrait of the princes may be an unique example of Armenian donors in Byzantine dress and pose. At Sanahin an awkwardly carved donor portrait appears to depict both princes wearing Byzantine crowns (Fig. 3.) It is recorded that soon after the Caliph Mo'tamed-Billah sent a crown to King Ašot Bagratuni in 887, a Byzantine crown was also presented to the ruler.[14] Kirakos of Ganjak in his *History of the Armenians* identified the later crown as a gift of the Byzantine Emperor Basil I who "they say was from T'il village in Tarōn . . . [and noted that] the crown came with a letter from Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and a piece of the Cross of the Lord."[15] The unusual crowns worn by both the sons of Ašot III at Sanahin may be related to that Byzantine crown. A Byzantine coin, a follis of Basil I, depicts the imperial crown in a similar fashion rising to a peak over the forehead with *prependulia* hanging far down beside the head.[16]

With the possible exception of this image, the donor portraits of Greater Armenia continue into the Cilician era to depict their royal donors in the pose popularized in the mosaics of the churches of sixth century Byzantium while dressing them in a manner linking them to the nations to their east. Thus in 1214 the donors of the cathedral at Dadivank' stand holding the model of the church founded by their mother in their memory while both their dress and crowns (or peaked hats) are without parallel in Byzantium. It may be significant for the choice of costume that the inscription on the church identifies their mother, Princess Arzu Xat'un, as the "daughter of the great Kurd."[17] Only a few years later at Ganjasar in another work of Greater Armenia built during the Cilician period, not only the dress but also the pose of the donors reflects the impact of eastern cultural mores. There Prince

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where it is suggested that both the portraits of the princes at Sanahin and that of King Gagik at Ałt'amar are based on Byzantine models of the *basileios*. Sanahin: 5, dates the sculpture to 961–962. Haghbat: 12, dates the sculpture to 991 by an inscription on the drum of the church.

[13] Mepisashvili, 244–45, has a similar portrait of Ašot II of Tao-Klarǰeti of 891–918 with a turban.

[14] *Ani*, 16.

[15] Kirakos Gandzakets'i, 1986, 72.

[16] Spatharakis, 98 and fig. 65, with bibliography. The follis depicts Basil with his sons Leo and Constantine.

[17] Thierry, 511–512 and fig. 125.

Hasan J̌alal-Dawla, is depicted seated cross-legged on the drum of his church while still holding a model of it, now over his head (Fig. 4.)[18]

Prince J̌alal-Dawla's portrait is not the first royal image of Armenia proper in a specifically Christian context in which the ruler sits cross-legged as in the contemporary eastern world. As early as the tenth century rulers appear seated cross-legged in the eastern manner on the facade at Ałt'amar. One, in the vine rinceau beneath the gable on the eastern facade, has been tentatively identified by Der Nersessian as King Gagik while the other who appears on the southern facade of the church is the King of Nineveh in the Old Testament story of Jonah.[19] In the mid-eleventh century, King Gagik of Kars, his wife and daughter appear in a portrait leaf from a gospel seated in the same pose (See Fig. 1 in T. Mathews text).[20] In the illumination, Gagik of Kars is shown wearing an elaborately patterned silk robe with a slit up the front at the hem. Its pattern and its decoration of rondels filled with lions, long a symbol of power, echo the silk robes on the donor portrait of King Gagik on the facade at Ałt'amar and also have been identified by Der Nersessian as possible gifts from an Islamic overlord.[21]

Thus in Greater Armenia into the Cilician era royal donors are seen to have been depicted in poses originating in the Sasanian and Early Byzantine past, but dressed, and at times seated, with the traditions of the contemporary East. Rarely are new Byzantine motifs present, and no use is made of contemporary Byzantine imperial portraits. Therefore, it would appear that in Greater Armenia royal authority was seen as based on a combination of old links to Christian Byzantium and continuing references to eastern political powers.

When the same symbols of royal power and Christian authority are sought in the portraits of the royalty of the Armenians forced to move west into the heartland of Byzantium to Cilicia, they cannot be found. Having established themselves on the northeastern shores of the

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18 Thierry, 526 and fig. 86, which was dedicated in 1240. On the drum two men are shown seated cross-legged with models of the church. The identity of the second is uncertain.

19 Der Nersessian, 1965, 13, 25 and figs. 19 and 39. *ANI*, figs. 22, 28, 41 and 42.

20 Der Nersesian, 1984, 85–107.

21 Der Nersessian, 1977, 109, identified the portrait now in Jerusalem ms. no. 2556 and argued that the robes might have been the gift of a caliph like those given King Gagik of Vaspurakan. If the choice of designs on the robes of Gagik of Kars and his wife and daughter are symbolic, then the vine scrolls on the women's dress may well be meant as symbols of fertility.

Mediterranean in the tenth century, the Armenians of Cilicia sought and achieved independence in the late twelfth century.[22] The royal portraits of the succeeding centuries rarely refer to those of Greater Armenia. Rather, as with the earliest surviving donor image of an Armenian in western Byzantium, they look more to contemporary Byzantine images for their models. In the Gospel of Adrianople of the early eleventh century, the donor Yovhannēs, an Armenian serving as an officer in the Byzantine military, is shown offering his gospel to the Virgin and Child. His pose is typical of the Byzantine tradition, and he is dressed in armor argued by Spatharakis to be appropriate to the contemporary Byzantine army and without any certain reference to traditional Armenian attire.[23] Unlike the Armenians of Cilicia, Yovhannēs lived within the Byzantine sphere, not within an Armenian enclave within that world, and was a military officer, not a ruler. However, his preference for the standards of the contemporary Byzantine world are echoed in the first generation of royal portraits to survive from Cilicia.

Armenian independence in Cilicia was achieved by balancing Byzantine power against that of the newly established Crusader states. When Leon II succeeded in making Cilicia an independent kingdom at the end of the twelfth century, the two crowns he acquired were from Byzantium and the West, not the East.[24] In the same period the great prelate Nersēs of Lambron wrote Leon justifying in part his attempts to reorganize the Armenian church according to the Benedictine rule by noting that the court had rejected traditional Armenian dress in favor of Frankish dress and Frankish manners.[25] While Bedoukian has argued that the royal images on contemporary Cilician coins were modeled on western coinage, Cilician coins also made frequent use of the Byzantine crown with its extended *prependulia*.[26]

The first royal portraits to survive from Cilicia, except on coins, are in manuscripts of the mid-thirteenth century. Between the mid-1250's and the early 1270's, three royal portraits appear—all of Prince, and then

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22 Der Nersessian, 1962, 630–659; reprinted, 329–352. Dedeyan, 307–313.

23 Janashian, XI, 93–104, the four gospels of Adrianople, San Lazzaro, Venice, ms. no. 887/116. Janashian identifies the donor as Yovhannēs, the Protospatharios of the Emperor and the Proximos of Duke Theodorakan. Spatharakis, 55–57 and figs. 24–25, with bibliography.

24 Der Nesessian, 1962, 342–344.

25 Dulaurier, 597–598.

26 Bedoukian, 56–57, and figs. 6, 17, 22, 49, 763 for Byzantine examples.

King, Leon III of Cilicia. Most significantly these represent new portrait types among the Armenians. The first two are inspired by relatively contemporary Byzantine imperial portraits, a type not known in Greater Armenia. The first portrait appears in a gospel, probably created at the Armenian patriarchate at Hromkla, Matenadaran 8321. Prince Leon stands on a *suppedion* dressed in a long tunic with long, tight sleeves and a cape with a jeweled border and a decorated patch, or *tablion*, by the left shoulder. The tunic, adorned with rondels filled with a lion standing beneath a golden moon on a red ground, has a jeweled border at the neck and hem. Above the prince two angels wave flabella. The prince's face is totally redone, and it is uncertain if the flowering twig in his hand is original (Fig. 5.)[27] The prince's standing pose and his attendant angels are typical of the Middle Byzantine tradition of royal portraiture. Similar angels appear over standing images of the Byzantine rulers Zoe, Constantine IX, and Theodora in a manuscript of the mid-eleventh century.[28]

While the rondel patterning of Prince Leon's tunic is reminiscent of the designs found on the cloaks and tunics of the royal figures of Greater Armenia depicted at Ałt'amar and in the Kars gospel, the traditional identification of Prince Leon's dress as that standard to the royalty of Armenia proper cannot be substantiated.[29] Prince Leon's robe lacks the slit in the hem line at the center front found on the royal garments of Greater Armenia. While most portraits of Middle Byzantine rulers depict them in the formal royal attire with the *loros*, some rulers are depicted in tunics with tight necks, long sleeves, and jeweled hemlines similar to that worn Prince Leon. Moreover, the decorative patch, or *tablion*, near the shoulder of his cloak has a long history in Byzantine portraiture as a mark of rank.[30]

The Byzantine style of Prince Leon's portrait and dress is most interesting if, as I have suggested elsewhere, the illumination is to be found in a gospel given to the prince at the time he was officially

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[27] Evans, 86, 158–159, with bibliography. Korkhmazian, pls. 87–89.

[28] Spathadakis, 99–102, with bibliography.

[29] Janashian, fig. 89, identifies the attire as that proper for Armenian kings from the tenth century on. Thierry, 194, argues that there were no cultural differences between Cilicia and Armenia Proper.

[30] Spatharakis, figs. 45, 52, 69, 71, for the tunic and figs. 52, 69, 71, 72, for the cloak. The *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, v. 3, p. 2004, for the definiton of the *tablion* as a symbol of rank.

knighted.[31] Constable Smbat, his uncle, described the young prince's installation as a knight as being celebrated in 1256 with much of the Frankish nobility of the Crusader states in attendance.[32] The absence of Crusader, or western, royal imagery in his portrait, which was created during the Latin Occupation of Constantinople, may be an indication of the continuing role of Byzantine imagery as the ultimate symbol of authority in the newly independent western regions of the empire.

The second portrait depicting Prince Leon in a Middle Byzantine pose is found in a gospel of 1262 by T'oros Roslin. In the Leon and Keran gospel, Jerusalem 2660, which was meant as a gift from the Catholicos Constantine I, Prince Leon is shown with his new wife Princess Keran (Fig. 6.)[33] Again the iconography is typical of Middle Byzantine portraits as the Prince and his lady stand on *suppedions* beneath a bust of Christ whose hands reach out to bless them much as the rulers appear on a portrait enamel sent from the Byzantine court to Georgia in the eleventh century (Fig. 7.)[34] As in the earlier portrait, the costumes of Prince Leon and his wife may be linked to Greater Armenia in the rondel patterns on their fabrics, but not in the details of their design. While the question of the source for their attire is complicated as Leon was still Prince, not King, in both these illuminations, his tunic and cape are similar to those found on the portrait of the noble Nikephoros Magistros in Cyprus at Panayia tes Asinou in the early twelfth century.[35]

The third portrait of Leon to survive is without precedence in Cilicia or Greater Armenia. In a gospel of 1272, Jerusalem 2563, ordered by Queen Keran, Leon and his wife are now King and Queen of Armenian Cilicia (Fig. 8).[36] As such they have adopted the imperial Byzantine *loros* for their attire, the first time it is found in Armenian portraiture. The *loros* appears on both their costumes extending down the front and then across their waists as if sewn onto their tunics.[37] The Queen's crown with

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31 Evans, 158–159.

32 Dédéyan, 1980, 100. Der Nersessian, 1959, 369.

33 Narkiss, 52, 148–149. Evans, 160.

34 Spatharakis, 38, fig. 11 with bibliography. *Medieval Cloisonné Enamels at the Georgian State Museum*, fig. 39.

35 Stylianou, 97–98 and fig. 1, where the church is dated 1105/06.

36 Narkiss, 63–64 and 149, with bibliography.

37 Spatharakis, 263, argues that the *loros* first appears as if sewn on in Byzantine portraiture in the era of Constantine IX (1042–55).

its rounded dome and *prependulia* is also drawn from the Byzantine tradition.

In contrast other details of their costumes appear inspired by western dress. The model for the crowns of the King and the children is uncertain, but the circlets worn by the three sons with their extended stalks topped by jeweled fleurs-de-lis is most reminiscent of western works.[38] Also related to the western tradition is the surcoat worn by all the children. Deeply slit up the front and buttoned close to the neck, the elbow length sleeves hang free to the sides. The arms of the wearer project from the under seam of the sleeves. Enlart identified the tunic as a French style begun in the early thirteenth century and seen on the funeral monument of the brother of King Louis IX, Philip the Good.[39] Similar coats are worn by those attending the deathbed of the Crusader king Baldwin IV in an illumination in a copy of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer* illuminated about 1280 at Acre (Fig. 9).[40] The fur lined cloaks worn by the Cilician king and queen also appear in the illumination—worn by Baldwin V and those attending his coronation as King of Jerusalem.[41] A major port, the Crusader city of Acre had extensive contacts both religious and political with Cilicia by the mid-thirteenth century.[42]

A final aspect of the portrait of King Leon and his family, their upright kneeling pose, has been attributed to the western European tradition by Grabar and Sparathakis. They have argued the presence of the pose in the Cilician manuscript is evidence of a western model for the woman's pose in the bilingual (Greco-Latin) Byzantine Hamilton psalter dated by Grabar to the late thirteenth century and by Belting to the second quarter of the fourteenth century.[43] In contrast, Belting rejected a

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[38] Taralon, 270 and pl. 108, where the reliquary crown of the Abbey of Le Paraclet is dated to the late thirteenth century. It is composed of six large and six small fleurs-de-lis on relatively extended stems. Alexander and Binski, 202–203, where a more heavily bejeweled crown has fleurs-de-lis rising on very extended stalks from the circlet. It is now in the Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Munich, and dated to c. 1370–80.

[39] Enlart, v. 3., pp. 45–48 and figs. 32–34.

[40] Buchthal, 152 and pl. 135, fig. b.

[41] Buchthal, *ibid.*, where the cloaks are especially prevalent in a copy of the *History of Outremer* now Lyons, B.M. ms. 828 (715), pls. 131, g, h, i; 132, f; 133, b; 135, a, b.

[42] Evans, 43.

[43] The Hamilton Psalter is MS. 78 A 9 in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. Spatharakis, 45–48 and fig. 16. Grabar, 1960, 128–130. Belting, 73.

western model for the Byzantine donors in the psalter noting that kneeling donors in western art are shown clasping their hands together before them. He argued that the pose of the figures in the Byzantine work with their hands extended forward with upright palms was the typical Byzantine supplicant gesture.[44] The upright kneeling pose with hands clasped together does appear in Cilicia on coronation trams of Leon II, possibly in recognition of the crown he achieved from the West.[45] It may be that the pose was adapted for the portrait of King Leon III's family in the Queen Keran gospel in memory of his famous predecessor. However, in the Cilician illumination only the two daughters kneeling in front of their mother on the right appear to be holding their hands clasped together in a manner much like the western prayer pose. The three sons on the left hold their hands up in the standard Byzantine gesture of supplication. And the king and queen are depicted in an unique manner—reaching forward to embrace their oldest son and daughter with one hand as they gesture toward the Deisis above them—probably a deliberate echo of the hand gestures of the Virgin and John the Baptist above.

In the donor portraits in two slightly later works for relatives of King Leon III—the second Vasak Gospel, J. 2568, for Prince Vasak, and the Feron-Stoclet leaf for Archbishop John—the western details of costume, the surcoat and fur lined cape, and the kneeling pose found in the Queen Keran gospel also appear.[46] In these works, Der Nersessian noted a further contact with the West as she connected the presence of the Virgin spreading her mantle protectively over the donors with western images of the Madonna of Mercy.[47] By 1346, only a quarter of a century before the fall of the Cilician kingdom and the retreat of the last king to the West, when Queen Mariun is depicted in a gospel kneeling before the cross at the Deposition of Christ, even her crown can be specifically linked to the West.[48] Its fleur-de-lis pattern and pearl border were

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[44] Belting, 73.

[45] Kouymijian, 67–74 and pl. 5. Bedoukian, pl. II, figs. 77v, 83v, 88, and 117. I have to thank Prof. Kouymijian for bringing his article to my attention when I presented this paper at the 1992 Annual Meeting of The Middle East Studies Association in Portland, Oregon.

[46] Narkiss, 64 and 149–50 and fig. 79, the royal donor portrait in J.2568. Der Nersessian, 1963, 61–62, for the Feron-Stocklet leaf and J.2568.

[47] Der Nersessian, 1970, 187–202; reprint 585–601, with figures.

[48] Narkiss, 87, 152, figs. 108–111, with bibliography, for the gospel J.1973 written by the scribe Nersēs and illuminated by Sargis Pīcak as a gift for Queen Mariun.

already known in the East by the late thirteenth century in depictions of western and Crusader royalty in William of Tyre's *History of Outremer*.[49]

The origin of the kneeling pose remains, however, uncertain for it also appears with the Byzantine supplicant hand gesture on two works of Greater Armenia that predate the use of the pose in Cilician manuscripts. On the facade of the church at Ganjasar two donors kneel at the foot of a crucifixion scene on the facade.[50] While the political alliance of the donor Prince Hasan-J̌alal and King Heṙum I of Cilicia suggests that the pose might have been inspired by Cilician coinage, it cannot yet be proven.[51] Moreover, as portraits of the donors seated cross-legged elsewhere on the church have already been connected with eastern manners, other sources for the pose cannot be excluded.[52] Additionally the donors of a manuscript possibly from Hoṙomos of 1236 also are depicted kneeling before their offering of their gift not only with their hands in the Byzantine supplicant pose but also wearing eastern costumes.[53] While it is possible that the donor portraits are a reworking of the manuscript in 1321 when Cilician themes were increasingly present in Greater Armenia, convincing proof that the pose was inspired by its presence in Cilicia has yet to be established.[54]

With these works, the question of the sources of the images which the Cilician and Greater Armenian rulers chose to enhance their royal power comes full circle. Literary texts refer to the use of Frankish language, dress, and courtly rites at the Cilician court, yet until the third quarter of

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[49] Folda, 176, figs. 14, 15, 18, 22 from the *History of Outremer*, Leningrad, M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, MS. fr. fol. v.IV.5 of ca. 1280.

[50] Thierry, 214, 526 and fig. 87, where the scene is dated to 1230 and the shape of the cross is identified as Georgian in style.

[51] Kirakos Gandzakets'i, 295–296, 301, 327–328, where they are identified as allies in their efforts to deal with the Mongols. A daughter of Prince J̌alal is referred to as the wife of one of the foremost of the Tartars [Mongols].

[52] See above, p. 489.

[53] Der Nersessian, 1986, 60–61, where Der Nersessian connected the pattern of the dress of the woman donor in the gospel, New Julfa no. 36 (156), to Islamic taste.

[54] Der Nersessian, 1986, 9, 61 and 195, where she identified the donor portraits as original to the gospel although the names inscribed in the border over their heads are those of the owners of the gospel in 1321. However, the broad white faces of the donors and their exceptionally large scale within the composition is not typical of the other illuminations by the painter Ignatios in the gospel. In his evangelist portrait of Mark, which appears above the donors, and in his narrative illuminations, Ignatios' figures are smaller in scale and more attenuated in form. The green ground of their faces dominates the compositions with white used only as a dramatic highlight. Thus it is possible that the figures were added in 1321.

the thirteenth century the rulers of Cilicia appear to have perceived the imagery of the Byzantine imperial court as the ultimate standard of kingship. Unlike contemporary royal portraits of Greater Armenia, however, the Cilician ones reflect relatively contemporary Byzantine images of royal power, not donor models popularized in the sixth century. If the use of the kneeling donor pose in Cilicia, or of elaborate fabrics decorated with rondels, is related to their presence in Greater Armenia, the connections are new, not continuations of older motifs of power and glory. The forces which drove the royalty of Greater Armenia to look increasingly beyond Byzantium to the East for their images of kingly dress and customs played little or no role in Cilicia, which chose instead to look to more contemporary Byzantium and the West. In Greater Armenia and Cilicia the pattern of combining Byzantine images of royal power with those of other cultures in donor portraits, stands in contrast to the royal portraits of other border regions of Byzantium where Byzantine imperial dress and pose often were copied in every detail.[55] It is in this ambivalence towards Byzantine dress, and thus power, that the portraits of Armenian and Cilician Armenian royalty are similar, accurately reflecting the Armenian people as they sought independence and survival by balancing the powers of East and West that beset them wherever they established kingdoms.*

Helen C. Evans

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[55] Mepisashvili, 199–200, for Georgian royalty in Byzantine imperial dress. Volbach, fig. 243, for Serbian royalty.

* Sirarpie Der Nersessian's final summary of the history of Cilician illumination, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, was posthumously published by Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C., in 1993 after this paper was completed. The chapter on Cilician portraits also recognizes the Byzantine dress of the royal figures in the Queen Keran Gospel of 1272 but suggests (p. 156) that the coats worn by the princes were modeled on an Armenian style of the seventh century, an opinion which I continue to believe cannot be substantiated.

Fig. 15. Ciborium d'Anastasia, VIe siècle. Trésor de Venise
Fig. 16. Tombeau du Christ. Encensoir byzantin. Détail
Fig. 17. Tombeau de Brād (Cliché J. Lassus)
Fig. 18. Cahar Tak de Kazerun (Cliché A. Godard)
Fig. 19. Tétrapode de Čeremi (Kakhétie). Plan et schéma (G. Čubinašvili)

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Fig. 1. Pentecost, 1261, Hromkla, T'oros Ṙoslin. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 539, f. 379
Fig. 2. Pentecost, *circa* 1060. Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 7736, f. 21
Fig. 3. Pentecost, 1223, Mamistra. Istanbul, Galata, MS 35, f. 253v
Fig. 4. Pentecost, 1267–8, Hromkla, T'oros Ṙoslin. Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 10675, f. 305
Fig. 5. Pentecost, 1272, Cilicia. Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, MS 2563, f. 349
Fig. 6. Pentecost, twelfth century mosaic. Venice, San Marco, west dome
Fig. 7. St. Thaddaeus, reliquary of 1293, Cilicia. St. Petersbourg, Hermitage Museum

T. F. Mathews and A.-C. Daskalakis 483–484
Fig. 1. Princess Marem between King Gagik-Abas and his wife Goranduxt. Jerusalem MS 2556, fol. 135 bis recto. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.
Fig. 2. Rulings on Jerusalem MS 2556, fol. 135 bis verso. Drawing T. Mathews.

H. Evans 499–507
Fig. 1 Detail of Bishop Ecclesius presenting a model of his church to Christ, San Vitale, Ravenna, mid-6th century (Art Resources).
Fig. 2. Donor portrait, Church of St. Sion, Aṭ'eni, 7th century (After J. M. Thierry, *Armenian Art*, New York, 1987).
Fig. 3. Donor portraits of Princes Smbat and Gurgen, Church of the Holy Savior, Sanahin, 961–962 (Courtesy Dr. Thomas F. Mathews).
Fig. 4. Donor portrait of Prince Hasan Ǯalal-Dawla, Ganjasar, 1230 (After J. M. Thierry, *Armenian Art*, New York, 1987).

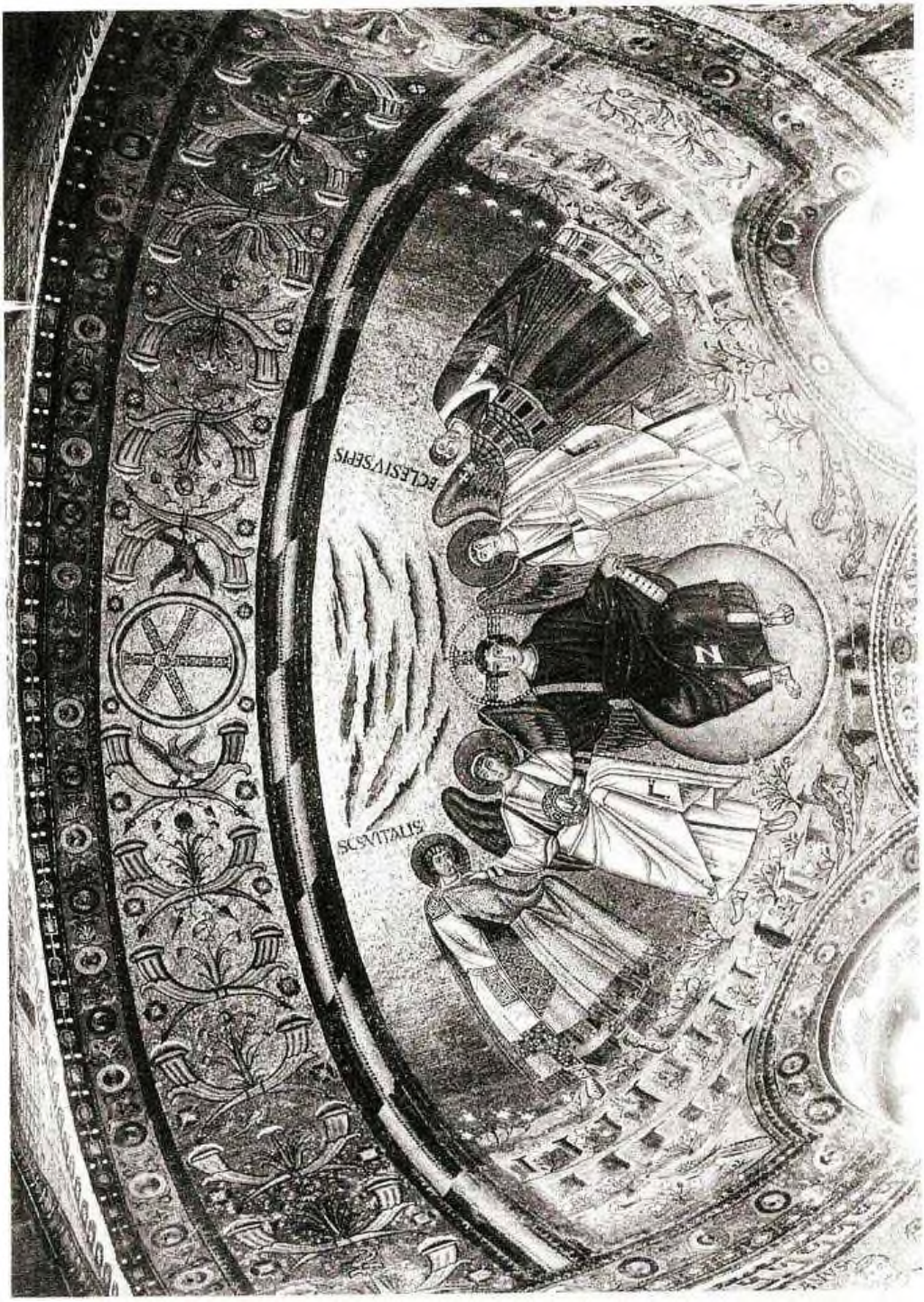
Fig. 5. Portrait of Prince Leon III, f. 15, Gospel, Matenadaran 8321, 1255/56?, The Matenadaran, Erevan (Courtesy The Matendaran).

Fig. 6. Portrait of Prince Leon III and Princess Keran, f. 288r, The Leon and Keran Gospel, Jerusalem 2660, 1262, The Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem (The Library of Congress).

Fig. 7. Portrait of Emperor Michael VII Ducas and Empress Maria, the Khakhuli Triptych, 11th century, The Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts, Tiflis (After I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden, 1976).

Fig. 8. Portrait of King Leon III and Queen Keran with Family, f. 380r, The Queen Keran Gospel, Jerusalem 2563, 1272, The Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem (The Library of Congress).

Fig. 9. Initial with Death of Baldwin IV and Coronation of Baldwin V, f. 288r, William of Tyre's *History of Outremer*, ms. 828 (715), c. 1280, Bibliothèque municipale, Lyons (The Bibliothèque municipale, Lyons).



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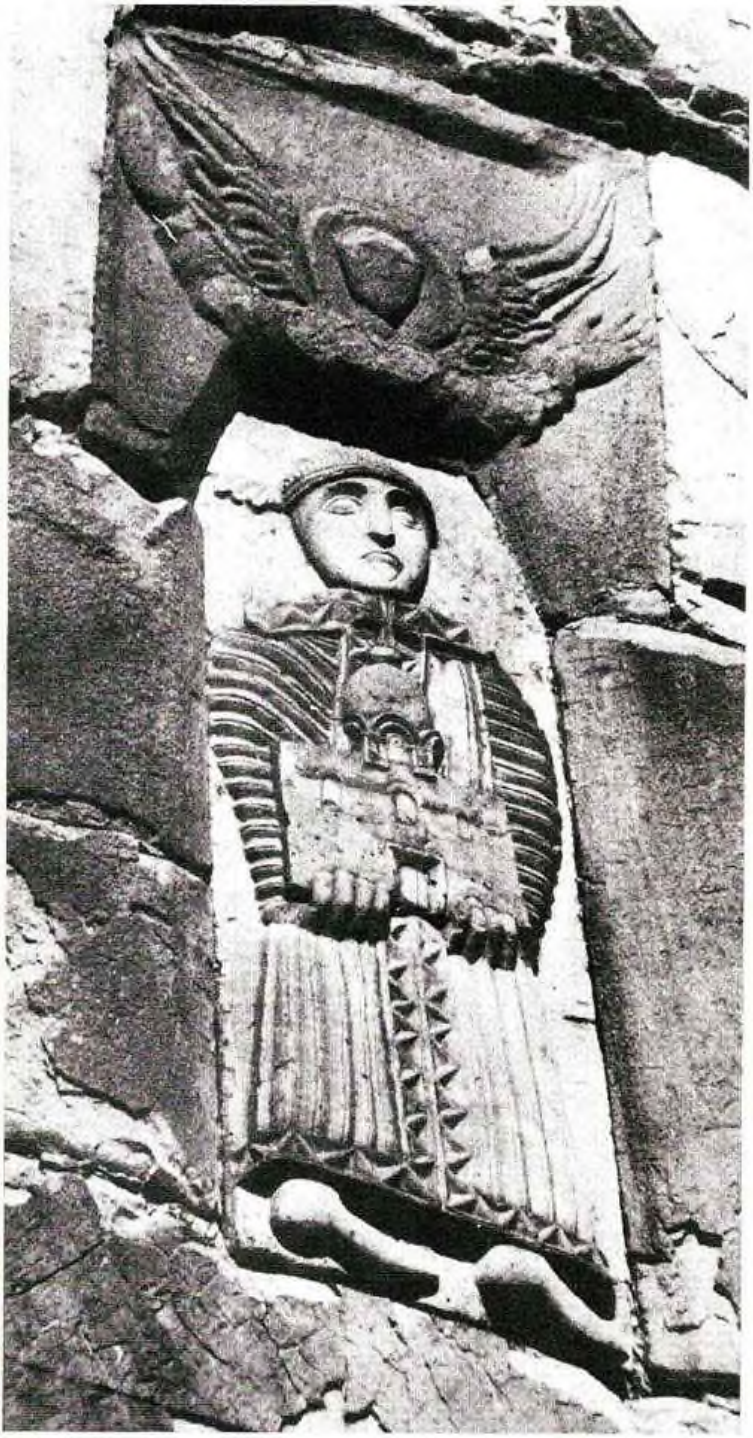

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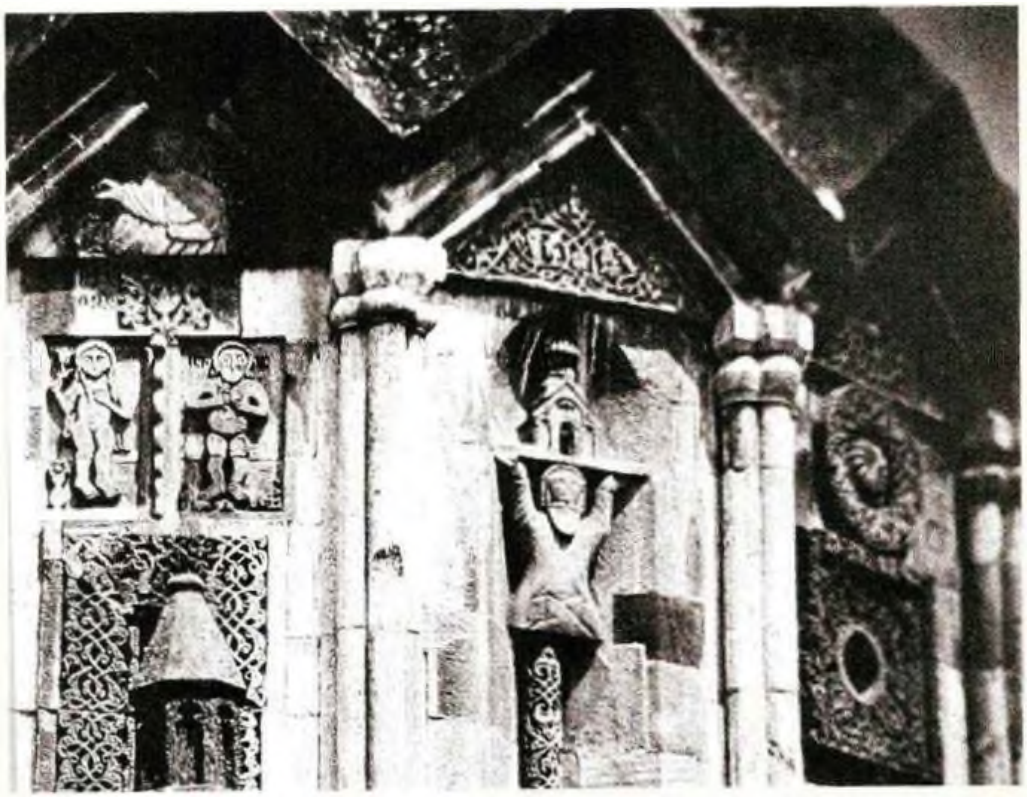

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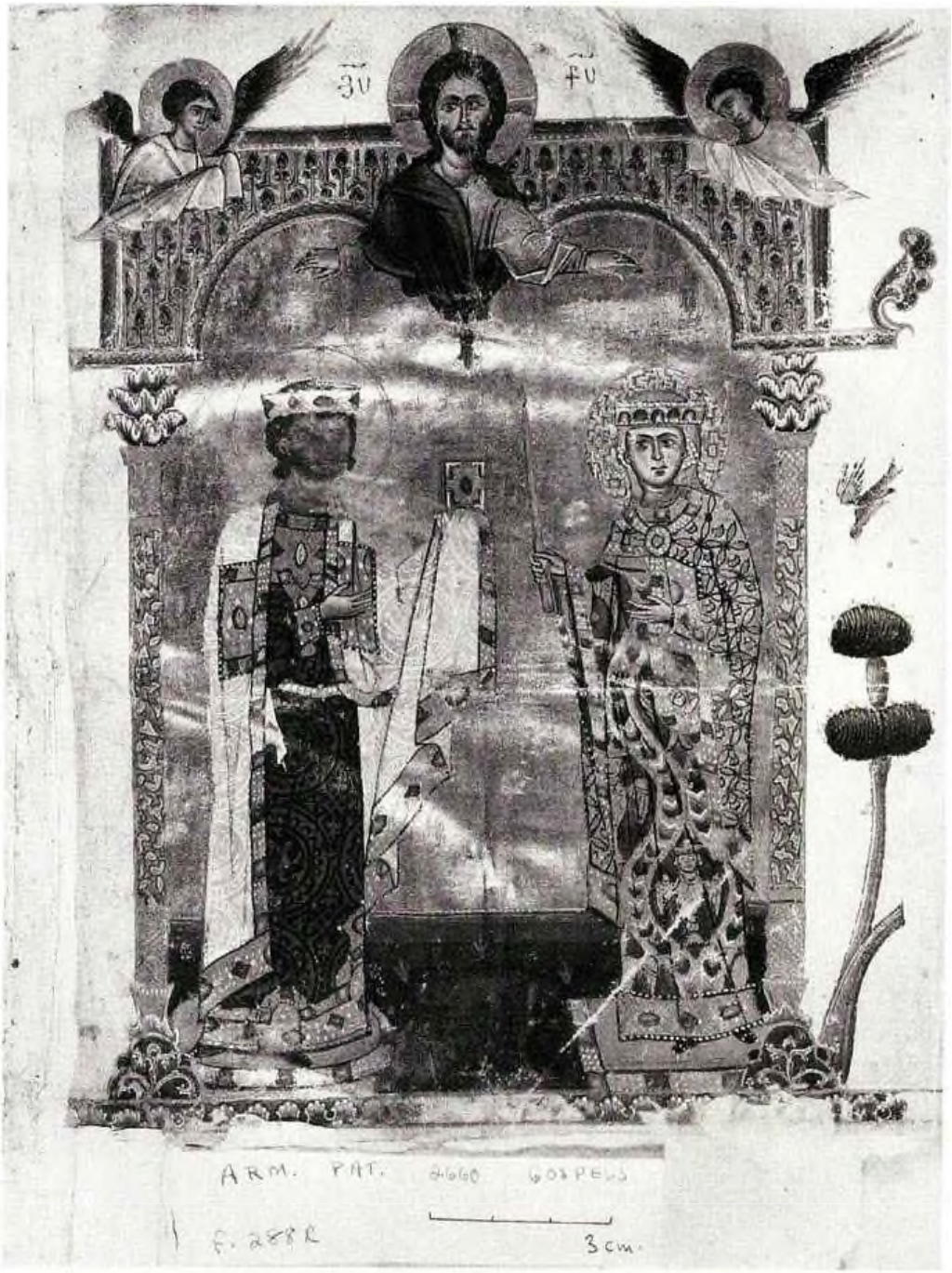

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